The Southern PATRIOT

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AMERICAN LEGION JOINS EASTLAND IN ATTACK ON SCEF

The American Legion, for reasons which can at best be ascribed to ignorance, has lent its authority to Senator Eastland's assault on the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

It has given complete license to the hacks who edit the *Firing Line*, a bimonthly sheet distributed by the Legion "National Americanism Commission." And these character assassins, made desperate by growing public hostility to their hint-and-ruin style of journalism, and promoting the wild fantasies of the discredited misfits who testified at the Senate Internal Security subcommittee travesty presided over by the Mississippi Dixiecrat some 17 months ago.

In the May 1 issue of the *Firing Line* the president of the SCEF, Aubrey Williams, is personally attacked. The congenital liar Paul Crouch and the police character John Butler are the professional talebearers who furnish the slanderous accusations against this distinguished Southerner, war veteran, government official, and tireless defender of human dignity.

The *Firing Line* dared demand perjury action be taken against Mr. Williams for the testimony he gave refuting these scoundrels. And it urged Legionnaires to ask the Senate subcommittee to print the full hearings on the SCEF.

The *Firing Line* broadened its garbage barrage on July 1, devoting a whole issue to the SCEF Combining the sordid 1947 Un-American Activities Committee report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare with the Eastland hearing, it confected a mad mulch of distortion against seven SCEF board members. Besides Mr. Williams and Dr. James A. Dombrowski, others defamed were:

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, the "Dean of Southern liberals," whose militant Christianity inspired a generation of students at Vanderbilt's theological school and who was defending the rights of workers at a time when the Legion was chiefly noted for its strike-breaking activities.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University's famous sociologist, former president of the American Sociological Society, whose works of scholarship cannot be defaced by the *Firing Line* "researchers."

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, founder and president emeritus of Palmer Institute, whose decades of community service have won her the grateful recognition of organizations throughout North Carolina and the Nation.

Myles Horton, director of the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., whose programs of worker education have been commended and endorsed by national labor unions, social workers, and civic leaders.

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the *Black Dispatch* in Oklahoma City, who has defended the liberties of persecuted persons of all races during his 50 years of eloquent and fearless years of publication.

Percy Greene, another Negro editor, who has essayed to maintain an independent course in the most difficult of places—Jackson, Miss.

Rudolph Moses, a New Orleans educator and businessman, widely respected for his scholarship and his devotion to progressive causes.

The *Firing Line* concluded by saying its readers should "immediately write to the United States Attorney General, Department of Justice Building, Washington 25, D. C. Ask him to petition the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the . . . SCEF . . . to register as a Communist Front under the Internal Security Act of 1950."

The colossal gall of such an attack could be dismissed as the dying spasm of an era of hysteria were there not these serious ramifications:

The report has been printed, as per the Legion request, and so now the jackleg journalists and superpatriots have a document — printed at public expense, with a government imprimature—which they can point to and distort. In its entirety the record damns them and their methods, but of course they will quote only selected portions.

Copies of the record are in circulation among Legion officials, but no release, at the time of this writing, has been made to the press. The committee counsel has refused to send a copy to the SCEF.

But we have obtained a copy, despite this strange veil of secrecy. And we have found that the Senate subcommittee follows the Legion line and its formal finding requests the Attorney General to take steps to require the SCEF to defend itself before the Subversive Activities Control Board on charges of being a Communist front. (See Page 2.)

There can be no doubt that a sinister and powerful conspiracy is at work: Alarmed by the growth of sentiment for school integration, racist groups within the Legion have sicked their "Americanism" fice-dogs on the SCEF; they, in turn, hatched up the report and the recommendation with some of the dubious characters on the subcommittee staff. Thus, a shameful incident in the history of the United States Senate is revived as a weapon for use against the advocates of racial integration in the South.

What response the Attorney General

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Here Is The Police Record of SCEF Accuser

One of the self-styled ex-Communists whose babbling filled much of the record at the Eastland hearing was John Butler, originally from Bessemer, Ala. He made large accusations against SCEF President Aubrey Williams and other fund officials.

Here is his police record:

In the Jefferson County Misdemeanor Court, Birmingham, Ala.:

Case A-4460, gaming, Aug. 16, 1954. Nol-prossed.

Case A-12280, gaming, Oct. 17, 1927. Nol-prossed.

Case A-19789, gaming, Sept. 8, 1929. Nol-prossed.

Case C-5917 (felony), distilling and transporting, Dec. 20, 1920. Fine of $50 and costs of $18.25.

In Federal Court, Birmingham, Ala.:

Case S-H-7036, distilling and transporting, Oct. 23, 1928. Sentenced to 60 days in jail.

In Jefferson County Misdemeanor Court, Bessemer Cut-off:

Case 17052, violation revenue law, Dec. 19, 1933. Fine was paid off.

In 1943 Butler was accused of embezzling union funds and was discharged from his job at Republic Steel because he physically assaulted the general superintendent of the Republic ore mines in the superintendent's office.

He is reported as presently living in Fort Worth, Tex.

'Preview' of Eastland Report Reveals 'Red-Front' Smear

Despite a Mr. Sourwine, who is counsel for the Senate Judiciary Committee, we have obtained a copy of the Eastland report on the SCEF. Mr. Sourwine told us there wasn't any to be had. But we got one, all 168 pages of close print published at taxpayers' expense.

The record would make a good comedy, if real people and real civil liberties weren't involved. Informer Paul Crouch at one point even sings a few bars of the Internationale.

Any excerpt of testimony cannot do justice to the monstrous whole. We offer however the following evidence of how despotically Senator Eastland conducted the proceedings:

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MR. KOHN (attorney for Mrs. Clifford Durr): . . . Not having examined anything that might be in that report or should anything come from the witness that directly attacks my client, have I the right to cross-examine those witnesses should that condition develop?

SEN. EASTLAND: No, sir. There is no right of cross-examination before any congressional committee at any time.

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MR. SMITH (attorney for Dr. James A. Dombrowski): I think it would be proper at this time if I could be informed by you, sir, if there are to be any opportunities afforded me to question this witness concerning this.

SENATOR EASTLAND: I judge you are a very reputable and very fine lawyer, and if you are you certainly know that in congressional committee hearings there is no such thing as cross-examination by an attorney for a party. This is in the nature of a grand jury proceeding. You do not have that right and I judge you know that. Never in the history of this country has such a thing been permitted and it will not be permitted here.

MR. SMITH: The reason I asked—

SENATOR EASTLAND: I am not interested in the reason. There will be no right of cross-examination . . .

* * *

MR. SMITH: Are there any other rules of procedure that this committee is prepared to tell us?

SENATOR EASTLAND: I will announce them when I desire. Proceed.

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MR. DURR (counsel for Mr. Aubrey Williams): Mr. Chairman, I object to this hearsay evidence.

SENATOR EASTLAND: Just a minute now. Mr. Williams, I am going to give you an opportunity.

MR. DURR: Will we have an opportunity to cross-examine?

SEN. EASTLAND: Yes, sir. Just let me handle it . . . Mr. Williams has answered all the questions and I think his attorney should be given the right of cross-examination he requested. I am going to permit you to examine Mr. Crouch.

His Majesty the Chairman made up the rules of the hearing as he went along, and granted what rights he chose!

The report includes this "Finding and Recommendation."

"The subcommittee . . . recommends that the Attorney General take the necessary steps to present this matter before the Subversive Activities Control Board in order that a determination can be made as to the status of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc."

Signing the report were Senators Eastland, Olin Johnston of S.C., McClellan of Ark., Daniel of Texas, Jenner of Indiana, Watkins of Utah, Walker of Idaho, and Butler of Maryland. One of this group admitted that he had permitted use of his signature without familarizing himself with the contents. Others may have done the same thing. We urge readers who are constitutents of these senators to write them, challenging their action in the matter.

HOW LONG, O LORD, CAN A LIE LAST?

The preface of the record of the Eastland hearing, in a summary of "principal points in the testimony" (page v), says, "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, financed and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States." The authority for that statement is the House Un-American Activities report of June 12, 1947. The "Finding and Recommendation" (page viii) declares, "An objective study of the entire record compels the conclusion that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare."

This is a classic example of a telescopic lie—a lie that has been stretched out further than the eye can reach yet still reveals not a speck of truth.

Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University, writing in the *Harvard Law Review* of October, 1947 (pp. 1193-1234), makes a complete analysis of the House committee's report. After refuting point after point, he concludes: "That report . . . is a document which discredits its authors rather than the organization it sought to destroy. The accusations are that the Southern Conference is insincere—that is, that its asserted interest in

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Will The Legion Back Eastland's Record?

Perhaps the most repulsive aspect of the current assault on the SCEF is the fact that neither the American Legion nor the other senators on the Judiciary Committee would dare admit sharing the views Senator Eastland brags of and tirelessly promotes.

Would the Legion endorse his declaration upon the floor of the Senate on June 29, 1945: "The Negro soldier was an utter and dismal failure in combat in Europe . . . He has disgraced the flag of his country. He will not fight. He will not work. . ."

Would any other senator on the Judiciary Committee tell a television audience: "Yes, Eastland of Mississippi became the chairman of the committee that controlled all the civil-rights bills, and how these liberal groups have yapped and yapped and yapped at me ever since. They said I was high-handed. They said I was arrogant. They said I violated the law.

"They said I deprived them of their constitutional rights because, they said, under the Constitution, they have got a right to petition Congress and had a right of a hearing before a congressional committee and they accused me of violating their rights and violating the law.

"Now what is the fact? I am just as guilty as they said I was." (Sept. 6, 1954.)

Eastland's accusations against the U.S. Supreme Court are notorious. What should be brought to broader notice, though, is his aid and encouragement to the Klan-style White Citizens Councils. At a WCC rally in Senatobia, Miss., on Aug. 20, he said, "You are not obliged to obey the decisions of any court which is plainly fraudulent." This is only one of several occasions on which he has incited lawlessness.

Clearly, Eastland is a tool, a tool of the Delta land barons in his native state, a tool of racists and reactionaries nationally—a blunt instrument for doing nasty jobs without leaving fingerprints.

GEORGIA G.O.P. LEADER WARNS BROWNELL OF PLOT

Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr.,
U.S. Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brownell:

My attention has been called to an American Legion publication, "The Firing Line" for July 1st, in which Legionnaires are urged to write the Attorney-General of the United States asking him to petition the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Southern Conference Educational Fund to register as a communist front.

As a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, I deeply resent this defamous story attack upon my organization.

The "Firing Line" Article is based upon the one-man hearings conducted in New Orleans, March 1954, by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, as a member of the Internal Security Subcommittee.

For Senator Eastland anyone, including a Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, opposed to segregation, is automatically judged to be a Communist, or under communist influence. His real target of course, is not Communism but the opponents of segregation. As the *Afro-American* said in an editorial, (4-3-'54)

> "Senator Eastland, an apt student of Mc-Carthyism, sat in New Orleans as a one-man committee. He announced his intention was to ferret out communists, but it developed his true purpose was to brow-beat, harass and publicly slander, in the name of the U. S. Senate, officers of an organization which has delivered sledge-hammer blows against segregation."

At the time of the New Orleans hearings, thirty-two of the outstanding Negro leaders of 15 southern states wrote an open letter to Senator Jenner, chairman of the Senate Sub-committee, condemning the attack of his committee upon the SCEF as "an attack upon the Negro community of this nation."

The American Legion has now publicly identified itself with Senator Eastland in his efforts to destroy an organization which everyone knows has spearheaded the fight against segregation in the South. Negroes will regard this action of the Legion as an attack upon the Negro community itself.

Nine members of the SCEF Board of Directors were singled out by the "Firing Line" for a smear attack, five of them Negroes.

The Board of Directors of the SCEF consists of 64 persons, all living in the South, about equally divided between Negroes and whites. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune was a charter member of the Board. Shortly before her death she wrote of her "deep and abiding faith and interest in all that the Fund is doing."

The Board includes such outstanding Negroes as: Dr. James P. Brawley, President of Clark College; Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Founder and President-Emerita of Palmer Memorial Institute; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier and Dean Chas. H. Thompson of Howard University; Dean Charles G. Gomillion and Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman of Tuskegee; President M. L. Harris of Philander Smith College; President Wm. J. L. Wallace of West Virginia State College.

Also, Bishop S. L. Greene, Senior Bishop of the AME Church; Bishop Edgar A. Love of the Methodist Church; Bishop F. L. Lewis of the CME Church and Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw of the AME Zion Church; W. E. Hogan of Dallas; Dr. M. M. D. Perdue of Louisville; Franklin W. Thomas of Tulsa, Rudolph Moses of New Orleans.

Also, Dr. Herman H. Long of Nashville; L. C. Bates of Little Rock; L. E. Austin of Durham; Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma City; E. D. Nixon, Montgomery; Louis L. Redding, Wilmington; Hobart Taylor and Mrs. Lulu White of Houston; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins of Columbia, S. C.; Dr. H. Horne Huggins of Baton Rouge; Dr. Frederick Rhodes of New Orleans; Dr. O. B. Taylor of Knoxville; Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, II, of Washington; Dr. H. T. Penn of Roanoke, and Percy Greene of Jackson, Miss.

For the American Legion to brand these persons that I have named above, or an organization for whose policies and program they are responsible, as subversive, is tantamount to condemning much of the finest Negro leadership of the South. The mere suggestion of any such action by the Department of Justice should arouse the indignation and moral righteousness of the Negro population of the United States.

. . . The Republican Party must associate itself vigorously in the efforts of the Negro to achieve full citizenship. We must defend and not harass organizations, such as the SCEF, which are doing so much to implement the Supreme Court decision and to win full democracy for the South.

I can think of nothing that would be more disastrous to the future of the Republican Party, so far as its influence with Negroes is concerned, than for a Republican administration to be an instrument in destroying such an organization as the SCEF by listing it as subversive.

May I suggest that a much more appropriate action on the part of the Department of Justice would be to send its ablest investigators into Senator Eastland's home state of Mississippi to investigate violations of civil rights. There a minister of the gospel recently was murdered on a public highway because he advocated the right of Negroes to vote; there the Constitution and the Supreme Court are openly flaunted by men in high places sworn to defend both; and there, in short, subversion to the point of open rebellion appears to be in the making.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN WESLEY DOBBS, Vice-Chm.
Republican State Central
Committee of Georgia

Exposing the Slanderous Myth About SCHW

Gellhorn

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Southern welfare is but a disguise to mask its service to the Soviet Union—are not founded on credible evidence. From semi-truths the Committee has drawn factual conclusions which would be strained even if the factual assertions of the report were beyond challenge. The report demonstrates, not that the Southern Conference is a corrupt organization, but that the Committee has been either intolerably incompetent or designedly intend upon publicizing misinformation."

As Gellhorn points out, the report's charge of Communist inspiration for the SCHW rests on a distortion of remarks in Communist publications wherein the writers made no such claim. The Communists sent five representatives to the initial meeting of the Conference in Birmingham in 1938. They made up fourtenths of one per cent of an assembly whose officers included a U.S. Commissioner, and two Congressmen. The 1400 delegates included U.S. Senators, high-ranking Democrats and Republicans, industrialists, labor leaders, churchmen of all faiths. President Roosevelt sent a message wishing the Conference success.

Those are the facts. Anything else is a malignant legend nourished by those who fear and oppose the ideal the SCHW represented,—the aid "to promote the general welfare and to improve the economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual conditions of the people of the South, without regard to race, creed, or national origin."